

Living pictures:

Design and the native press

by Lucy A. Ganje

Culturally-based media design preserves the heritage of Native American groups and may communicate better to its audiences than EuroAmerican design.

"Much of the wisdom of the American Indians is written in symbols - a language without letters or sounds that speaks to that part of our nature which remembers."¹

This paper introduces a culturally based approach to the design of Native newspapers. Its purpose is to generate useful questions, and to invite not only designers working in the American Indian press but also those working on local newspapers to move beyond a *look* too often dictated by the elite press. Design should more often arise from community context and be defined according to principles indigenous to that community.

The Native American Journalists Association sponsors a yearly awards competition for member publications. A portion of the competition focuses on design and layout, which may cause a dilemma for those asked to judge this portion of the contest.

- How does one offer suggestions for the design or improvement of Native newspapers without recommending deletion of the very characteristics that could make the newspaper a uniquely Native publication?
- How to support creating Native style and identity, resistant to the dominant design codes and standard models?

If those who judge design competitions are not knowledgeable of, or sensitive to, the construction and consumption of messages within the context

of the particular culture the publications serve, they may simply be driving just another assimilationist vehicle. The U.S. Government adopted assimilation as a policy toward Native people in the early 1900s. It sought to make them similar to EuroAmerican people and then absorb them into the system.²

The pressure to assimilate into white-defined culture has long been a destructive force in American Indian and other minority communities. Education was an important goal of federal Indian policy throughout the 19th century and schools were traditionally a central focus of missionary and reform activity. Many Indian family oral histories now include horror stories of boarding school life where children were presumably *raised to civilization* from savagery. Native children were forbidden to practice their customs or speak their language. This push for assimilation forced them to dress, speak and act the same as those who were members of the then dominant society. It required that they renounce their heritage and look the same as everyone else.³ Design consultants and instructors need not follow in the tracks of the early missionaries or government officials and repeat the injustices of forced assimilation through the educational process.

The sameness often seen in newspaper formats today has been referred to as *cookie-cutter* design. If Native culture, with all its complexities, is not considered when designing for the Native press, we risk turning these publications into clones of their EuroAmerican neighbors. A layout format developed for one audience may not serve others effectively and this missionary approach spreads an aesthetic into other cultures who may be better served by home-grown designs.⁴

The design and layout of any newspaper should be an act of cultural empathy.

This assimilationist approach to newspaper design homogenizes the unique character of Native communities and moves us a step closer to a *cookie-cutter* world.

Aesthetic consideration is important in design and layout but, like taste, may be very subjective. Aesthetics have to do with the concepts of function, form, content, truthfulness and ethics. When we apply aesthetics to visual communication the focus is on perception.⁵ In order to understand the significance of cross-cultural design and aesthetics it is necessary to recognize the link between culture and communication.

Perception varies according to culture. Rather than giving all peoples and cultures the same visual identity, newspaper design and layout should acknowledge and nurture the differences. Intercultural communication is built on the idea that how we see and how we feel is determined, to a large extent, by the culture in which we were raised.⁶

"Visual communicators laboring in mass communication must understand the social, economic, political, and artistic conditions that are part of the environment in which the communication will be received."⁷ A clear understanding of a community must include an awareness of the history, traditions and spiritual concerns of that particular community. This awareness, coupled

with an understanding of ways in which “the press is involved in the reproduction of white group and elite dominance” can provide the information and impetus needed for change.⁸

Stereotypes and false perceptions are often found in stories written about *Indian country* issues. A competent reporter or designer will gain a more realistic perspective by researching the history of tribal nations. “The media breed distrust in Indian communities when they remain ignorant of a tribe’s unique form of government, its laws, its history and people.”⁹

Good newspaper design, while sometimes visually jolting the audience in order to attract its attention, may also create an environment in which readers can relax and be comfortable. And a comfortable environment must include elements which reflect the culture and world view of the reader. The design and layout of any newspaper should be an act of cultural empathy.¹⁰ Culturally appropriate concepts for the design of publications focusing on Native issues and communities may be produced by studying the visually significant aspects of these societies, including the many belief systems and social dimensions reflected in any one community.

Native cultures are complex, diverse and distinct from one another in important ways. There are more than 500 federally recognized tribes in the United States. Richard LaCourse, founding member of the Native American Journalists Association says it is not possible to understand Indian journalism unless one understands the nature of separate, diverse Indian societies in the United States.¹¹ Using the phrase “Native American culture” is much the same as saying European culture.

Just as Europe is made up of many countries, each with its own language and culture, so too is the Native community of North America. Each tribe has its own unique visual identity, traditions and history. The design work of the Lakota people, a Plains Indian tribe, for example, is often very geometric and hard-edged. Woodland nations such as the Chippewa or Ojibwa, on the other hand, often favor more organic, environmental designs. One would be uninformed and insensitive to utilize what some perceive as the visual elements of the Southwest tribes - a cactus, turquoise jewelry or Kokopeli, the hump-backed flute player, for example - in association with the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota nations of the upper plains.

Although the uniqueness of tribal cultures may highlight the differences, there are commonalties that provide the underlying fabric of the Native paradigm. The word “Native” is used here to encompass a wide variety of tribal identities and affiliations, including American Indians, Native Americans, Alaska natives and native peoples of Canada.

Visual images and native cultures

"Visual images are the heart and soul of the Native people." This is a statement made by one of the respondents to a survey conducted on the use of visual images in the Native press.¹² Visual communication is of central importance in Native cultures. Historically, this centrality is well illustrated by Native development of, and reliance upon, visually based communication media. Visual symbols figure prominently in many aspects of Native life, for example: shelters, clothing, rock paintings and carvings, winter counts, sign language and smoke signals. Even today, the indigenous people of North America are biased toward visual media and many Native groups use a visual approach as a method by which they come to know and understand the world.¹³

Yet too often this visual orientation goes unrecognized or is misunderstood by EuroAmericans who tend toward reliance upon verbal or written communication and are more comfortable when transmitting information through highly abstract spoken or written symbols. The use of imagery as a tool for understanding highly complex concepts was an important part of learning in many traditional Indian cultures.¹⁴ And studies have shown that Native students tend to use imagery coding while non-Native students use verbal coding.¹⁵

Given the non-text traditions of Native culture and the growing predominance of visual media that require few reading skills, it will be difficult for the printed media to survive in *Indian country* unless some changes are made. In order to compete with other media and gain their audience's attention, Native newspapers, many of which are fairly young, should look at their design, format and packaging in a fundamentally different way, and not just as the dominant-culture form of journalism and graphics with a Native flavor.

- The visual may need to carry the story.
- Graphics may be a more effective delivery mechanism than words for certain forms of information.

Native newspaper practitioners may want to consider that their readers' heritage is one in which showing a story is as important as telling it. Their audience may embrace graphic imagery and visuals to satisfy informational needs much more readily than the EuroAmerican cultures.

Although there will certainly be elements of Eurocentric design that may be transferred with success to a culturally sensible layout, not all of the traditional layout principles may apply. Here we should listen to the Teton, Hunkpapa, Lakota leader, Tatanka Iyotanka's (Sitting Bull) advice to his people regarding their dealings with the EuroAmericans, "Take what is useful and leave the rest by the side of the road."¹⁶

A potentially useful metaphor for modern Native print media may be found in a medium used by plains Indian people to record their history - the winter count (or, in Dakota, *wan'iyetu wo'wapi*). Derived from a Native custom of

reckoning time by means of winters rather than calendar years in the European sense, this calendrical account was the only record, other than oral, the plains tribes are known to have kept of their history.

Usually a Plains Indian winter count consisted of pictographs, arranged in an outward spiral starting from a central point. The pictographs depicted important or unusual events for each passing year. They were painted on tanned buffalo hides and were kept by Native historians who memorized a short text for each of the pictographs explaining its meaning.¹⁷ "Definite signs for the first appearance of the smallpox and the capture of wild horses were recorded on winter counts and were dates as satisfactory to the Dakota as the corresponding expressions A.D. 1802 and 1813 are to the Christian world."¹⁸

Perhaps contemporary Native newspapers in the upper plains states could be conceptualized as a mnemonic medium which provides moon (i.e., monthly), rather than winter (yearly) counts. These new lunar counts could capture the best of a visual and oral tradition and combine it with text for a new, Information Age practicality.

It is essential that more studies be made of visual perception in Native cultures. In order to attract Native viewers, as in any culture, there is a need to know what appeals to each community and how visual messages are read and decoded. Directions, colors and numbers have cultural significance and are important in perception. An acknowledgment of the sacred is weaved into the fabric of the Native paradigm.

Cultural design standards

There are many elements that may be considered when designing for the Native press. Given the visual orientation of the culture, the most obvious consideration is the use of visual images. But other traditional aspects of design and layout may be analyzed in their relationship to indigenous lifeways. Design principles should be interpreted within the context of the culture. Many of the design prescripts we follow today, when considered in this context, seem to have been born of a Native spiritualism.

Gestalt

The gestalt theory of visual perception suggests that each element of a visual image may be considered, analyzed and evaluated as a distinct component. However the whole of the visual image is greater than the sum of its parts. This is an important design principle and one which mirrors the essence of Native cultures and spirituality. The holistic approach of the culture is one that recognizes that humans do not exist in and of themselves. Ironically, an important criticism of the gestalt theory is that it does not take into account cultural considerations. The mind recognizes basic forms and patterns but the

way individuals gain personal insights and meaning from these images is not explained.¹⁹ But used within the Native context, the gestalt theory may be a reminder that the Native paradigm is derived from one's placement in relationship to the community.

The star quilts of the Northern Plains American Indians may be considered from the perspective of gestalt theory. The Plains Indian tribes substituted these blankets for the buffalo robes that were no longer available, adapting the geometric designs once painted on buffalo hides to pieces of cloth. Each of these pieces is a distinct component of the quilt and can be considered, analyzed and evaluated as such. But the energy and beauty of the image is only felt when the pieces are composed into a visual whole as the star quilt, symbolizing the energy that comes from the stars. And the placement of each piece - the composition - is so exact, so delicate that should one element be removed, the design loses its balance, and therefore its power. This loss of energy illustrates that the whole is greater than the simple sum of its parts. "The parts 'team up' to create something larger than themselves - a completeness, a meaning. A designer cannot change one part without forcing a reorientation of all the parts and a changed whole or meaning."²⁰

Color

In Native traditions all things have a meaning and a purpose. This functionalism is often illustrated in the stories of the tribal elders where the Native peoples respect for color is often found as the central theme. Because it is considered sacred and associated with the spirits, color is significant in many ceremonies where paints of certain hues, and objects painted with designs in particular hues, are used as offerings or gifts to the spirit beings. Many creation stories include how colors, and their significance, came to be. Some of the stories are about many colors and some are about just one hue. An example is a Lakota story of how the rainbow came to be:

Long, long ago when the world was young, everything including plants and animals could talk to each other. They could also talk to the gods. People had not yet been created. After several seasons, all living things were finally getting used to being in the world.

Only the flowers were feeling sad after they realized they had to go to sleep or die when the cold of winter covered the land with white snow. Talking among themselves they said such things as: "The pine trees don't lose their needles and they stay green all the time. The brightly colored birds are able to fly south for the winter and keep their feathers. Anpetu (the Day) at least can show his hues twice a day even in winter time. Even the trees with leaves get to enjoy many changes of green from spring to summer. Not only that, but they get one big burst of color in the fall."

Those flowers felt they had been left out of something. They decided to call on Mahpiyato, the One Above. They told the One Above how they felt and Mahpiyato was glad to listen to them. When they were finished talking Mahpiyato said: "My children, you are right. You do much to make the creation beautiful from early spring until fall. Yes, you should have some special reward. I will give each of you a spirit that will live on in the heavens long after you leave the earth. In time all creatures will be able to see you once in a while. They will know I have kept my promise of a reward." So ... even now we can see that Mahpiyato's promise was kept. At the end of a storm, across the sky, we can see all the spirits and hues of flowers from ages gone by, gathered together in beauty that we call the rainbow.

*So it is said.*²¹

Native storytellers often end their narratives with *So it is said*. This indicates it is not the teller's story, but that they are simply passing on an account which had been told to them. It is also an acknowledgment that they would not presume to claim it as anyone's truth but their own.²²

Red is one of the most important hues of the Lakota people. There may be various reasons for this. American Indians were often called red men or redskins by Europeans. The skin color of Native people is not red of course, but some of the first Indians seen by EuroAmericans had painted their faces and bodies red. This was done with red earth pigment mixed with animal grease which may have been used not only for ceremonial purposes, but to protect themselves from the rays of the sun during daily outdoor activities.²³ Today the term redskin is considered derogatory and is seldom used - other than, regrettably, in professional sports.

Red is a hue that means *life* for many Lakota people. This may be the result of various cultural associations. It is the color of blood and the buffalo meat, choke cherries and other berries that sustained them. Red is also the color of a stone now called catlinite, or pipestone, so named because the Lakota people make their sacred pipes from it. Traditional stories tell us that a flood destroyed the ancestors of the Lakotas and turned their flesh and blood into this red stone.²⁴

When a robe was decorated with red it was considered a gift back to the

Lakota sacred beings for all the life-giving things received and for all the Lakota people would need in the future. Red paint on other offerings also had much the same meaning. "Red paint applied to a person during a ceremony is often used as a symbolic acceptance of the beliefs, customs and traditions of the Lakota people."²⁵ Generosity is one of the four Lakota virtues in addition to wisdom,

There are four sacred colors in many Lakota cultures: red, black, yellow, white. These colors are associated with the four directions and are represented in the medicine wheel.

bravery and fortitude.²⁶ To represent this the bottom of the tipi was often painted red. "This meant any very needy or hungry person could go there and would receive food for the asking."²⁷

Blue is often associated with the sacred energy of the sky. This hue was difficult to find in natural pigments such as colored earth or berry juices. There were not many natural sources of blue, especially on the great plains. Bright blue paint and blue dyes were therefore very rare. Blue paint was used sparingly and mostly on sacred items such as drums, medicine objects, ceremonial objects and shields. The wearing, or use, of the color blue today may signify that one is in the process of doing something sacred.²⁸

There are four sacred colors in many Lakota cultures: **red, black, yellow, white**. These colors are associated with the four directions and are represented in the medicine wheel. In one of the most influential works on American Indian spirituality, *Black Elk Speaks*, Black Elk (through interpreter John Neihardt) describes the four ribbons on his sacred pipe which represent the four directions:

*The black one is for the west where the thunder beings live to send us rain: the white one for the north, whence comes the great white cleansing wind: the red one for the east, whence springs the light and where the morning star lives to give men wisdom; the yellow for the south whence come the summer and the power to grow.*²⁹

These colors may vary according to tribe, and different people or bands may use different colors to represent the four directions. For example, it may be felt that black is too powerful a color, so blue is substituted.

Language, culture, and thought are interrelated, and variations in culture produce variations in the language of color.³⁰ Color terminology in various Native languages could reflect distinctions in that tribe's society and culture. Just as there are differences between female and male EuroAmericans in the color terms they use,³¹ we can look for tribal and inter- and intra-tribal color distinctions.

The effective use of color by designers involves understanding it in the cultural context of its environment. Newspaper design consultant Mario Garcia suggested that newspaper color in the 1990s take on a bolder appearance and urged his readers to be more adventurous in its use.³² This advice may serve Native newspapers as well, but with attention paid to local meanings and understandings of color, as well as to the intensity or saturation of the color. So, depending on individual tribe's traditions, blue, for example, might be reserved for the "Entered the Spirit World" (obituary) page.

Composition

Layout is a form of expression. Here, perhaps, is the primary strength of the Native editor. Rather than relying on the 1970s' theory of sectionalizing the news, an editor who understands the Native culture, history and traditions may instinctually lay out the paper following specific cultural patterns.³³ Understanding of layout and composition in Native publications involves consideration of what may be one of the essential differences between EuroAmerican and Native North American cultures - the difference between the rectangle and the circle. The rectangle is considered one of the most pleasing shapes in Western culture. The *golden rectangle* is the home for not only our printed publications, but for our video display terminals, television monitors and movie screens as well. It is the channel through which we receive most of our information. But in many north central Native societies, the identity is with the hoop, which expresses the Plains Indian concept of the relationship between humans and the worlds around them: plant, animal, spiritual.

...the circle, whether found in nature, painted on a buffalo skin or enacted in a sun dance, is but an unexamined luminous symbol whose meaning is intuitively sensed, not consciously interpreted...Again and again the idea of a sacred circle, a natural form with a moral import, yields, when applied to the world within which the Oglala lives, new meanings; continually it connects together elements within their experience which would otherwise seem wholly disparage and...incomprehensible.³⁴

This circular paradigm is often represented by the medicine wheel or sacred hoop, a world view which includes the *Pte Oyate*, the spiritual life. It is a way of looking at every action, every thought, every moment, in a circular, continuous and cyclical manner. This often used symbol of Native spirituality is a circle intersected by a cruciform.³⁵

There are few straight lines in Native cultures and everything in life, according to this philosophy is composed of circles. Dancing is done in a circle and the drums are a circle. The architecture of various tribes was (and is) often round and many Plains Indian people lived within the circle of a tipi or earth lodge. Anasazi kivas throughout the Southwest are circular in shape.

The tribal circle, each segment composed of a clan, gens or band, made a living picture of tribal organization and responsibilities. It impressed upon the beholder the relative position of kinship groups and their interdependence, both for the maintenance of order and government within and for defense against enemies from without; while the opening to the EAST and the position of the ceremonial tents recalled the religious rites and obligations by which the many parts were held together in a compact whole.³⁶

EuroAmericans traditionally live within rectangles, which is why, by the way, according to one elder of the Spirit Lake Nation (Dakota) in North Dakota, "it's so easy for the devil to corner them."³⁷

The architecture of a people should be an important consideration when building a newspaper page. Perhaps this cyclical approach to life may be transferred to the layout of the newspaper. *Vaguely conceived, but intensely felt*, the significance of this common element, once abstracted, can be employed throughout the concept and production of the publication. Even more so than their EuroAmerican neighbors, Native readers may not approach their newspapers in a front-to-back of the paper fashion. Research indicates that Native students use simultaneous processing, which concentrates on the relationship between parts, more frequently and effectively than their non-Indian counterparts.³⁸

Editors need to reconsider the sectionalizing of the paper. The news should be distributed and organized, not according to story content, but to the circular interrelationship of each story to the community. If indeed, the best newspapers reflect the communities they serve, the Native theory of interdependency should be considered. An often heard phrase in Indian country is *we are all related* or, in Lakota, *Mitakuye Oyasin* (all my relatives). This philosophy may mean that many seemingly unrelated stories are unified by elements that only those who understand the culture and community will recognize.

Design principles and native philosophy

Balance represents the key in Native life and a center of American Indian teaching. To be in harmony with others, with oneself, and with one's environment is desired in Native cultures. This balance is felt in a kinship that comes with a respect for the land and all who occupy it. According to Russell Means, one of the founders of the American Indian Movement, what EuroAmerican people can learn from Indian culture can be said with one word, *respect*. Respect is to the American Indian what *love* is to Christianity or *enlightenment* is to Buddhism.³⁹ So to be in balance is to have respect for the interconnectedness of all things. This notion of respect may translate to what the mainstream media has so long identified as *objectivity*.⁴⁰

The number four is pervasive in Native communities and rituals, and is a sacred number for many tribes in North America.

The principle of balance can be seen and felt in the use of the number four. EuroAmericans have long had an attraction to the number three which may have begun before the advent of Christianity. The number three is common in every aspect of Anglo society. In religion, one sees the Trinity, the three wise men, Christ rising from the dead on the third day. In government one sees the "trinity" of local / state / federal. In folklore: Three Blind Mice, Three Little Pigs.

Sports: three strikes and you're out. The colors of the American flag: red, white and blue.

But the number four is pervasive in Native communities and rituals, and is a sacred number for many tribes in North America.⁴¹ The philosophical significance of this number was explained by Tyon, an Oglala Lakota: "In former times the Lakota grouped all their activities by fours. This was because they recognized four directions: the west, the north, the east, and the south; four divisions of time: the day the night, the moon, and the year; four parts in everything that grows from the ground: the roots, the stem, the leaves, and the fruit; four kinds of things that breathe: those that crawl, those that fly, those that walk on four legs, and those that walk on two legs; four things above the world: the sun, the moon, the sky, and the stars; four kinds of gods: the great, the associates of the great, the gods below them and the spiritkind; four periods of human life: babyhood, childhood, adulthood, and old age; and finally, mankind has four fingers on each hand, four toes on each foot and the thumbs and the great toes taken together form four. Since the great spirit caused everything to be in fours, mankind should do everything possible in fours."⁴²

Parables often utilize the number four as in the following Ojibway creation story:

...The Earth (Ah-ki') is said to be a woman. Water is her life blood. It flows through her, nourishes her, and purifies her. On the surface of the Earth are the Four Directions, each contributing a vital part to the wholeness of the Earth. When she was young the Earth was filled with beauty. Gitchie Manito (the Creator) took four parts of Mother Earth and blew into them using a Sacred Shell. From the union of the Four Sacred Elements and the Creator's breath, man was created. For many years the people lived together in harmony but when family turned against family the Creator purified the Earth with water. The animal beings and a Spirit survived the flood but there was no land upon which to rest. The Spirit announced he would swim to the bottom of the water and grab a handful of Earth to create a new land. He could not find the bottom. Next, Mahng (the loon) volunteered but was also unsuccessful. Zhing-gi-biss' (the helldiver) also went, but could not find soil. The fourth being, Muskrat (Wa-zhushk'), said he would go. The others laughed at the idea that this small animal could accomplish what they could not. Muskrat came back with a handful of soil from under the water. It was placed on Turtle's back. Wind from the Four Directions began to blow. The tiny piece of Earth began to grow larger and larger until it formed an island.

So it is said⁴³

The Native press might accommodate the significance for this number by composing within its framework. It may surface, for example, in the number of

photographs on a photo spread, the number of stories on a page, the way in which issues are organized within the pages.

Native culture takes its design from nature. Elements are created that are environmentally sound with each part being put to good use, nothing is wasted. The parts of the design are interwoven which only serves to strengthen the whole. Chief Sealh,⁴⁴ an eloquent and passionate spokesperson of the Duwamish, is often credited with verbalizing his people's view of nature and their part within it, "We do not weave the web of life, we are merely strands in it. Whatever we do to the web, we do to ourselves."⁴⁵

Beginnings

A culturally sensitive layout can be accomplished by relating the precepts of the culture to the design and layout of the publication. Newspapers continue their struggle to attract minority, women and younger audiences. There are many barriers to overcome for those from oral tradition cultures who may not operate as well within print-oriented mainstream society.⁴⁶ The newspaper should not keep people from the news but guide them through it using familiar signs and landmarks. This map can be accomplished by recognizing that the most effective composition comes from within a culture or community. The Native press could be defined, not only by content or ownership, but by a visual awareness that mirrors the culture.

Many visual principles and theories - balance, harmony, unity, gestalt, semiotics - are all played out in the tribal lifeways and spirituality of the first people of the Americas.

Eurocentric newspaper design models should be approached cautiously. Community-centered design composition can be studied in a cultures' architecture, history, traditions and geography. Unfortunately the contributions of Native peoples have rarely been adequately recognized or valued. Few Americans realize that in addition to the Native spiritual and environmental policies of respect, many of what Americans consider to be the staples of life are tied directly to Native cultures. Half of today's agricultural products were domestic crops cultivated by American Indians. America's highways follow Native American trails and urban development and design have their beginnings in the high-rise apartment buildings of the southwest nations. In fact, the very structure of American democracy is modeled after the Iroquois League.⁴⁷ This lack of historical awareness, combined with the tragic human rights violations of the 18th and 19th centuries - forced assimilation and broken treaties - has led to many adaptations but little change. The U.S. Government's attempted annihilation of Native history, beliefs and communities led to the concealment, for over a century, of a culture rich in tradition and meaning. Newspapers, rather than reflecting cultural assumptions should use their design and layout to reach

out to multicultural audiences. Many visual principles and theories - balance, harmony, unity, gestalt, semiotics - are all played out in the tribal lifeways and spirituality of the first people of the Americas. The indigenous paradigm has much to teach us about communication and design, if we will only listen:

*So we went to school to copy, to imitate; not to exchange language and ideas, and not to develop the best traits that had come out of uncountable experiences of hundreds and thousands of years living upon this continent. Our annals, all-happenings of human import, were stored in our song and dance rituals, our history differing in that it was not stored in books, but in the living memory. So, while the white people had much to teach us, we had much to teach them, and what a school could have been established upon that idea!*⁴⁸

The predisposition of many indigenous cultures to visual learning and visual models gives the Native press an opportunity to be in the vanguard of design that communicates both specifically and universally. This research suggests a model for culturally specific newspaper design that may or may not have applications to mainstream newspaper design. It is directed toward the small community newspaper where there is already a strong sense of identification with the land and the people. It suggests newspaper layout that grows out of the landscape. Pages designed, for example, with breathing room for prairie publications and a tighter composition for forested or urban areas. Spot color that speaks to tradition and local geology. Typography that expresses contemporary values and emotions. A newspaper whose basic architecture reflects the community. Rather than following in the path of mainstream newspapers, these publications should be composed for their own unique communities and the people they serve. "It is not necessary," Sitting Bull said, "that eagles should be crows."⁴⁹

So it is said.

■ ***So it is said.***

Notes

1. Eloise Hart, *Wisdom Teachings of the Hopi*. **Sunrise**, October/November 1990.
 2. Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford Lytle, **The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty**. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, p.125.
 3. Fairchild Hoxie, **Indians in American History**. Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1988, pp. 216-217.
 4. Kevin Barnhurst, *News as Art*. **Journalism Monographs**, No. 130, December 1991, p.6.
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5. Arthur Berger, **Seeing is Believing: An Introduction to Visual Communication**. California: Mayfield, 1989, p.22.
 6. Sandra Moriarty & L. Rohe, *Cultural Palettes: An Exercise in Sensitivity for Designers*. **Journalism Educator**, 1992, pp.33-34.
 7. Craig Denton, **Graphics for Visual Communication**. Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1992, p.46.
 8. Beverly Ann Deepe Kever, *News, Race and the Layering of Racism: From **Public Occurrences** to the Hutchins Commission at 49 Years*. Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication conference, Anaheim, California, August 1996, p.5.
 9. Laverne Sheppard, *Advice From the Inside: Improving Tribal News Coverage*. **The American Indian and the Media**. Minneapolis: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1991, pp. 14-15.
 10. Kevin Barnhurst, **Seeing the Newspaper**. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991, p. 195.
 11. James Danky, ed., **Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation**. Proceedings of the conference on the Native American press in Wisconsin and the nation. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, April 22-23 1982, p. 103.
 12. Lucy Ganje, **Design of the Native Press: A Cultural Perspective**. Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication conference, Kansas City, Missouri, August 1991.
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 14. Terry Tafoya, *Coyotes Eyes: Native Cognition Styles*. **Journal of American Indian Education**, Summer 1982, pp. 21-33; Vera John, *Styles of Learning - Styles of Teaching: Reflections of the Education of Navajo Children*. In Courtney Cazden, Vera John, and Dell Hymes, eds., **Functions of Language in the Classroom**. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972.
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 16. Peter Nabokov, ed., **Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations From Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992**. New York: Penguin Press, 1991.
 17. James Howard, *Butterfly's Mandan Winter Count: 1833-1876*. **Ethnohistory**, Spring, 1960; Garrick Mallery, **Picture-writing of the American Indians**. Vol. 1. New York: Dover Press, 1972.
 18. Mallery, 1972, p. 267, *op. cit.*
 19. Paul Lester, **Visual Communication: Images with Messages**. San Francisco: Wadsworth, 1995.
 20. Denton, 1992, p. 46, *op. cit.*
 21. Arthur Amiotte and Vic Runnels, **Art & Indian Children of the Dakotas**. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Aberdeen, South Dakota Area. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978, pp 88-92.
 22. This lack of presumption, and acknowledgment of the "teller's" role in the story, has important implications for journalism. *Native Directions*, a campus Native American
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newspaper recently profiled in **Quill** magazine, has implemented a policy stating a writer's byline must include his or her racial or ethnic identity, thus publicly indicating the role their background plays in the articles they write.

23. Amiotte and Runnels, 1978, p. 96, *op. cit.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

26. Sinte Gleska University. **Lakota Star Knowledge** (3rd. ed.) Description of the university logo which incorporates the virtues. Rosebud, South Dakota: Sinte Gleska University, 1992.

27. Amiotte and Runnels, 1978, pp. 100-101, *op. cit.*

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-109.

29. John Neihardt, **Black Elk Speaks**. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Reprint of 1932 edition, p. 2.

30. Conrad Kottak, **Cultural Anthropology**. New York: Random House, 1987, 4th ed., p. 91.

31. Robin Lakoff, **Language and Woman's Place**. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

32. Mario Garcia and Pegie Stark, **Eyes on the News: The Poynter Institute Color Research**. Poynter Institute for Media Research, 1991, p. 59.

33. Kevin Barnhurst, **Seeing the Newspaper**, 1991, *op. cit.*

34. Clifford Geertz, *Ethos, World-view and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols*. **Man Makes Sense**, Boston: Little, Brown, 1970, pp. 326-327. In T.C. McLuhan, ed., **Touch the Earth: A Self-portrait of Indian Existence**. New York: Pocket Books, 1972, p. 178.

35. Joseph Epes Brown, **The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian**. Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill, 1964. In T.C. McLuhan, ed. **Touch the Earth**, 1972, p. 177.

This symbol is painted on a number of ritual objects, and on the bodies and heads of people who participate in tribal ceremonies. Its form is reflected in the circular shape and central fire of the tipi, the home of the Plains Indians; its pattern is found in the Sun Dance and purification lodges. At the center of the circle, uniting within a point the cross of four directions of space and all the other quaternaries of the Universe, is man. Without the awareness that he bears within himself this sacred center a man is in fact less than man. It is to recall the virtual reality of this center that the Indians have so many rites based on the cross within the circle.

36. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., **The Handbook of Indians of Canada**. In T.C. McLuhan, ed., **Touch the Earth**, New York: Pocket Books, 1972, p. 178.

37. Grace Lambert. Personal interview. Fort Totten, North Dakota, July 8, 1991.

38. Arthur More, *Nicola Indian Quality of Education Study*. Penticton, Okanagan Indian Learning Institute, British Columbia, 1984.

39. Richard Smoley, *A Non-Indian's Guide to Native American Spirituality*. **Yoga Journal**, January/February, 1992.

40. For a further discussion of Native spirituality see Native scholar Vine Deloria Jr.'s **God Is Red**.

41. T.C. McLuhan, ed., **Touch the Earth**. New York: Pocket Books, 1972, p. 40.

42. Paul Radin, **Primitive Man as Philosopher**. New York: Dover, 1957, p. 278.

43. Edward Benton-Benai, **The Mishomis Book**. Minnesota: The Red School House,

1988.

44. Seattle is a corruption of Sealth's name.

45. Alvin Josephy, Jr., **Now That the Buffalo's Gone**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 3rd ed., 1989.

46. James Jones, *Racism in Black and White: A Bicultural Model of Reaction and Evolution*. **Eliminating Racism**, John F. Dovidio, Samuel L. Gaertner, eds., Orlando, Florida: Academic Press, Inc., 1986.

47. Jack Weatherford, **Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World**. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1988.

48. Luther Standing Bear, Land of **the Spotted Eagle**, 1933. In F. Hoxie, ed., **Indians in American History**, 1988, p. 1. Newberry Library, D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian.

Chief Luther Standing Bear was born in 1868 and spent his early years on the plains of South Dakota and Nebraska. At the age of 11, he was one of the first students to enroll at the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879. After four years at the school, he became a teacher and taught at the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota.

49. Peter Nabokov, 1991, p. xviii, *op. cit.*

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